

on getting food, shelter, and the material comforts—in short, on a pragmatic adjustment to nature by the application of empirical knowledge—than on any other aspect of their culture.

The agricultural complex of activities is the end to which the major portion of the people's resources in land, labour, power, capital, and economic energies are directed. For success, practical knowledge of the environment is of the first importance. A feeling of security is attained in agricultural activities, not so much by magical as by empirical means. Skill, experience, close observation, hard work—these are the primary requisites. The struggle to make the soil yield up its fruit is not conceived to be waged or determined by mysterious forces. This does not mean that a European will be impressed by their methods of tillage. Their conditions of life, their technology, their control over nature are different from ours. The manner in which people invest their energies and draw out their rewards does not conform to our ideas of efficiency. We deplore the poor tillage, wonder at the wastefulness during periods of plenty, inveigh against thoughtless improvidence. Lack of intelligence, we say, is the reason for their lack of systematic planning against recurrent famine. But we forget, among other things, that practices based on shifting cultivation, though unsuitable in the new, crowded environment, are still alive; that the problems of storage against the ravages of termites and weevils have not been solved and, with the materials at the disposal of the Native, cannot be solved even by our experts; and that, in the absence of organized exchange and marketing facilities, there is no incentive to produce more than for the annual needs of the household plus the surplus for beer-making necessary to maintain social relations and one's reputation for generosity. Practices which ramify into the cultural structure cannot be changed, costly new materials for combating pests cannot be acquired, nor can a whole superstructure of economic distribution be built up at a moment's notice. While the old values that gave men confidence and sustained the society continue to survive as they do, it is they which will regulate the application of knowledge and resources. A man may wish to increase his food supply, but not at the price of giving up too many of the things valued in the society; a surplus beyond a certain limit means nothing and suggestions for an improvement in methods may thus fall on deaf ears.

We can here refer only cursorily to a few aspects of Lovedu agriculture. There are, firstly, the various crops. In modern times, sorghum is considered the most important and are the staple crop on the hills, where they also have the first claim on the best soils. It is chumbe, however, the oldest of the Lovedu grains, that is given to the gods. But no one, so say the old men, must neglect kaffir corn (*Sorghum caffrorum*) and millet (*Pennisetum typhoides*), for upon them greater reliance can be placed in times of drought. In the valleys, despite their vulnerability to the ravages of birds, more of these latter two crops are planted than sorghum, largely because they do not answer on the hills. Cereals are cultivated by both men and women; and, in addition, every woman plants also eggs beans (*Pandanus suberosus*), peanuts (*Arachis hypogaea*), pumpkins, native beans (*Vigna sinensis*) and mung beans

CHAPTER IV

CO-OPERATION AND EXCHANGE

Arrangements of and changes in the work-party, partnerships, and solitary occupations—relative roles of economic and goodwill exchanges—beer, dances and bride-price as vehicles of reciprocal exchanges—aversion from business.

- 191 To convert to his use the material resources upon which man relies for subsistence, some organization of labour is necessary; man must co-ordinate his energies with those of his fellow man. He must co-operate with some and he may consider himself as a competitor of others. The Lovedu is an individualist, but life is hardly regarded as a competitive struggle, even in respect of the things that are limited in supply. Men aim, not so much at achievement and riches, as at maturity and self-sufficiency. There is no single scale of attainments by which men measure themselves against one another. Moderate success is credited to industry, but immoderate success may be suspect; he who reaps much more than his neighbours is in danger of being looked upon as an enemy in league with anti-social forces. The Lovedu do not display either their emotions or their possessions; ostentation is appropriate only to states of exhilaration. Self-expression finds its legitimate scope, not in worsting a rival, but in a gradually expanding responsibility and prestige. The society has a hierarchical framework so constructed that rank and age interpose themselves between possible competitors. This does not mean that there is no competition, but the great emphasis is upon co-operation.

- 476 The two methods by which men pool their resources in order to provide for their primary needs are working together in mutual helpfulness and exchanging the products of their labour. Co-operative working together arises chiefly in agricultural and building activities, where its main purpose is easily intelligible; exchanges are not felt to bear such a direct relation to the differentiated needs and activities of men. Yet fundamentally co-operation and exchange are part of the same system of values. Mutual helpfulness is highly esteemed and aggressive exploitation deeply despised. In the co-operative situation these values are intrinsically present; but the exchange situation must be reconstituted to bring it into harmony with them. The problem in co-operative situations is to harmonise with them the individualism of the peasant; the problem of exchange situations is to eliminate the idea of a commercial transaction; and in both types of situations this is done by the stress upon reciprocity. The purely economic aspect tends to become wholly obscured, except in modern forms of co-operation and exchange. In them the helper becomes a servant and exchanges become 'business' (business). Service and 'business' are tolerated only so far as they conform to the old pattern and values.

- 476 571 The *igama*, which is the most distinctive form of co-operative work, consists of a more or less casual group of workers. Neighbours, relatives,

strengthens the tendency towards cunning and duplicity (which safe-157
guard the secrecy of the rain charms) and has given rise to the impression
among Europeans that the Lovedu are cowardly and deceitful, lacking
the manly qualities of their neighbours, the Shangana-Tonga. Foolish
valour is discredited, for 'It is at the home of the coward that the porridge
bowl is not thrown away': he lives to eat another day. The prestige of a562
queen as ruler also maintains the high status of women in a patrilineal
society. Nowhere else are so many women heads of districts or in
such important political positions. Women own cattle, have wives and
may aspire to headship of large villages; and in the social system the
main forces are oriented from the pivotal position of the cattle-linked
sister. A wife or mother is queen of her establishment, as its old Khi-
lovedu name, *mulago*, indicates: *hu lago* means to control like a leader,
while *la lago* describes the excessive control of some overwatchful kraal
heads.

Agriculture is not important as a field of achievement, for stores556
cannot be accumulated; immoderate success is suspect and a man cannot
establish or alter his status by economic means. 'Yours is what you eat;555
what you set aside is another's', means both that expending energy upon
accumulating goods is lack of balance and that the 'haves' cannot be
ungenerous to the 'have-nots'. Nor is the royal complex of institutions,
except in so far as it interpenetrates the social system; a field of achieve-
ment for ordinary men. It is the social system which, besides being one
of the great pillars of security, provides the scheme in which man seeks
self-expression and recognition. There are wide avenues of achievement
for men, especially in the *Akwo*, and women may aspire to influence
within the *manywalo* complex and its 'houses'. There are other fields of
achievement: men may find satisfaction in the circle of the huts of their
wives, women in spirit possession, and both men and women may become
doctors, district heads, craftsmen, or story-tellers, while the adventurous
may seek expression in the fantasy of manipulating the forces of witch-
craft.

But all these avenues are available only within the arrangements of the781 ●
social structure, which on the whole are designed to eliminate competition692
and to reward co-operation. The activities of the *Akwo*, in which men
seek and display their highest self-expression, throw into bold relief the
qualities and traits that are most esteemed in the society: mature wisdom,
appeasement, reliance, not on force, but on agreement, and confidence
in the effective operation of the long-run reciprocities of the social system.
The task of the *Akwo*, the most honourable and most arduous of all tasks,
is successfully achieved only if the disputants can be guided towards
reconciliation and acceptable compromises. Certainty—the idol of
security set up by our aggressive society, the fetish worshipped by legal-
istic practitioners and the obsession impelling our courts to adjudicate upon
conflicting rights according to strict law—is not a feature of the *Akwo*.
The *Akwo* is oblivious of the fear that hard cases will make bad law, for
it need not, as we do, steel itself against tenderness for the hardship of
the unwitting offender, lest exceptions upset the certainty of the law and
that elegant symmetry which, as we conceive, guarantees security. In

181 the *Akwa* the exigencies of personal adjustments may overrule the decrees
 692 of the law. In the setting of the *Akwa* we thus see emphasis upon compromise and informality, faith in muddling through rather than in meticulous certainty, and reliance upon the pressure of the social reciprocities, not upon the sanctions of force. We may, in the context of European society, call them care-free standards, but that is to fail to see their place among the Lovedu.

181 These characteristics are faithful reflections of what one finds in the society and what is proper to the social structure as a whole. This structure provides the pattern of long-run reciprocities which, without the support of sanctions of force, ensures mutuality and co-operation. The reciprocities are motivated by inevitable necessity: 'The well-doer does well unto the well-doer; it is only his despoiler that the despoiler despoils'. Side by side with insistence upon give and take, the society provides in such a manner for the place and achievement of individuals that competitiveness is limited and aggressive traits are outlawed. The immediate goals of individuals are divergent, and men are not conceived as strenuously striving against one another for the attainment of the same end. Co-operation is essential to life and its tasks, for, says the proverb, 'One leg cannot dance a *gaba*'.

It is striking how the culture by re-interpretation prevents the struggle apparently inherent in the objective situation, such as when there are limited prices or resources. The Reserve is overcrowded, the population presses hard upon the natural resources, and land is scarce; yet the people act as if the old abundance of land still prevails. They attribute ordinary shortages, not to scarcity of land, but to the indolence of the modern generation, thus rephrasing their difficulties in a manner which is congruous with social values, reduces the possibility of competition and permits of the resolution of the difficulties by human effort. And, generally speaking, economic resources and especially the manyrude cattle exchanges cannot be manipulated to acquire wealth or status or position. There is no special prestige attached to possessions and no socio-economic stratification of classes; for a great man, whether he be poor or rich, is first and foremost a royal relative, and the purpose of economic activities is self-sufficiency and independence. What particularly struck us was the absence of competition in craftsmanship: we have often seen one potter appraising the pots of another; we have always found it useless to urge expedition upon one worker by hinting that otherwise we would place our *digler* with another; and it seemed to make little difference that the money was badly needed for tax purposes. Lucrative trade, calculation instead of mutuality in the work party, and display, both of possessions and of personality, are intensely disliked.

To the same pattern of values as non-competitiveness belong the disinclination to make comparisons and the aspiration towards equality with others. The role of these attitudes is not merely economic. The former reflects lack of interest in analysis as well as the absence of graduated yardsticks for comparing quantities and performances. Linguistic devices for expressing comparison—adjectives have no comparative or superlative forms—can hardly cope with our distinctions. It

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is very difficult to obtain any expression of opinion concerning the relative merits of things we quite naturally compare, such as objects of craftsmanship, achievements of individuals, or other elements of culture. They do not share our interest in analysing out parts of a culture complex in order to compare them, and they generally regard the complexes—for instance, two different types of dance—as wholes incommensurable with one another. Of course, they do compare things, but as regards economic goods they are chiefly concerned to be favoured equally with others. 'What are you stinting me off?' is a common phrase implying, 'Am I not, equally with others, entitled to share in your generosity?' A child, asking us for sweets, often says, 'Give me *also*', for he is begging for what others may receive, not a special advantage for himself. When favours are asked from the ancestors, the prayer is quite often phrased in such terms as 'Give us *also*' or 'Let us have *health like others*'. When a son had just been initiated as a doctor, his father prayed simply, 'Let him *also* be able to heal nicely,' and when a son was ill in town, the words, despite the competitiveness of town conditions, were 'We say, let him be "cured", Mother, and in his work let him be like others.' To stress, before the ancestors, a desire for personal achievement in competition with, or greater than that of, others is evidently improper.

Competition is not always eliminated. Doctors are not conceived to be rivals for a limited clientele, but they are said to 'try' one another: cultural definition diverts attention from the objective social situation of a limited number of customers, in which competition is discouraged, to the magical sphere, in which the fantasy of competitive strife is permitted. But the most striking arrangement that limits competition is the socially recognized, albeit not rigidly proscribed, hierarchy which defines men's status according to seniority or rank. 'Robes may be passed on [to strangers], never royal rank'; or, again, 'What becomes worn by age is clothes, not noble rank', because a nobleman can never lose caste or position. Younger brothers are taught to defer to their elder brothers, and in spite of displacements of district heads, it is hardly conceivable that commoners can oust royal relatives. Where the rivalry is fiercest, as among councillors at the capital, it is part of an institutional conflict and may not be openly displayed.

Dancing and music relieve the monotony of life, there is adventure in illegitimate sex relations and in the outlawed activity of witchcraft, but it is beer which provides the predominant recreation. Both beer and dancing belong to the co-operative, reciprocity pattern, whereas witchcraft is essentially competitive and anti-social. Unlike the Shanga-Tonga, the Lovedu dislike display in dancing, except in the ostentatious dancing of initiation and the individualistic dancing of adherents of the alien cult of possession. Dancing, like beer, has other than recreational significance, and it is the manner in which beer has been integrated with diverse aspects of the culture that we may profitably consider.

Beer is the humanly satisfying element, even the justification of many actions; it is a recognized means of maintaining prestige and hence of achievement; and, as the medium of goodwill exchanges, it also subserves security. No occasion, whether social or ritual or religious or economic,

181 is complete without beer. During some seasons of the year, people are
273 in a perpetual state of exhilaration: some are singing or gossiping near
the beer pots; some are expectantly watching their concoctions mature;
and the rest are recovering from the last beer drink. Drunkenness is
deprecated, but drink induces a state in which behaviour otherwise
frowned upon is tolerantly regarded. Beer parties should be 'orderly',
for they are occasions when some of the restraints of life may be relaxed
and when jealousies and dissensions, normally under control, may rise
to the surface. Though ostentation, even self-praise, is allowed in
states of exhilaration, beer must be drunk with decorum; it should be
lingered over, not belied in haste.

181 A multitude of values centre round beer. It is a nourishing food, taking
273 the place of meat feast elsewhere; it is also the food of the gods. Beer is so
574 great an attraction that it would be sheer lack of balance to keep one's
appointments, to attend to other business, or to be worried by the passage
of time if a beer party is imminent or in progress. A man's reputation for
generosity depends upon his giving a beer party occasionally, although
the entertainment is invariably in connection with some definite purpose,
economic, ritual, or religious. Beer is the medium of goodwill exchanges
between relatives-in-law and between neighbours; and, as belonging to
this context, the tributary beer from the districts to the queen is trans-
formed from a burden to a pleasure. Beer is at the basis of the group of
[57] *saibana* (literally, those who eat together), composed largely of kin and
neighbours who often co-operate in economic activities; this group cuts
across the lines of the district and includes even such alien elements as
Shangana-Tonga; and the main obligation of its members is to call fellow
members to any beer that is available. Reconciliations are effected by
beer, which also 'opens the way for the mother-in-law'. All the essential
reciprocities are maintained by beer: a man returns a borrowed article
with beer; a family doctor, instead of being paid for his services, expects
to be called to the family beer; and in the work party beer removes labour
from the category of subservience to that of mutuality. With beer one
thinks, but with money one pays.

181 None of the impulses that we have considered are intensive, and none
of the striving, whether for security, achievement, or recreation, is
concentrated. The diverse ideals and achievements that are permitted
in social arrangements enrich personality and encourage the qualities of
balance and wisdom; and the insistence upon a reciprocity which is not
motivated by distrust, conditions mutual helpfulness and suppresses
aggressiveness and display. An important clue to Lovedu's Weltanschauung
is their attitude to what may be considered to be ultimate power, the
power through which the final goals of life and security can be attained.
Such power is sought, not in privations, tortures, visions, and self-
oblivion, but in normality, equanimity and maturity; it is derived, not
from breaking the ordinary bounds of experience, to escape to another
world and from transcending the limits of the senses, but from manipu-
lating mundane forces and from identification with nature. The Lovedu
do not compel cosmic laws by the power of ecstatic states or trances;
they bend these laws to their purposes by supplicating the queen and

moving her to pity and by 'cooling' the heat of the earth and the anger [51] of the ancestors. Franny and excess are outlawed, moderation and balance are honoured. They have little conception of the Buddhistic Nirvana or annihilation of human existence, of the fanaticism and fatalism of the soldiers of Allah, or even of Western concentration and intensive striving. From the point of view of our values, the Lovedu are Laodicean, 'lukewarm, neither hot nor cold', happy-go-lucky. They are always saying that they will 'try', never that they must succeed. But there is nothing intensive about their striving. A man faced with a difficulty is always advised to 'persevere', but that does not imply our grim determination, being more like the leisurely manner in which they set about all their tasks.

This theme permeates every aspect of the culture. In the boys' circumcision the object is to break the child of his wilfulness and lack of balance, and the purpose is achieved, not by excessive tortures and privations, but by the mature guidance of the old men. Neither strength nor stoicism are much made of, and the virtues inculcated are balance and self-sufficiency. The Lovedu tolerate intoxication only on occasions appropriated to exhilaration, quite unlike even such nearly related tribes as the Mafula and Phalanga, who have institutionalized boisterous displays by those famed as hunters or warriors. In the field of the [75] magic-religious, feelings and visions do not figure, except among the possessed and the smaller-cult, the latter always foreigners, the former a recent introduction. Possession in its Lovedu context has been shown of its paranoic elements, its exaggerated trances, and its inception in a minded cataclysm. Cataleptic seizures do not serve as inductions to the super-natural as among the Ngoni, for fits are due to witchcraft, and, unlike the smaller-cult, who is a Shangana-Tonga and works by insight and exaggerated procedures, the Lovedu doctor divines by his craft and acquires power by learning and experience. Prayer is not an emotional outpouring of the heart, but a communication as between man and man. [81] [82] Disension in her country opens, and anger in her heart inhibits, the power of the queen. Spells are not characterized by intensity or malevolence; they are often merely directions to the medicine to bring about justice or to restore the balance. Even at a death or burial, there must be no display of distress, no undue weeping; both the dying and the survivors resign themselves with a calmness that is the admiration of Europeans who know the Lovedu well. Too much weeping by a mother is believed to injure her next child; Mpuna, now thirty years of age, was born a cripple, it is said, because his mother, Makweda, wept bitterly at the death of her first son. We have never seen weeping at a funeral, and the property of the deceased is not so contaminated that it has to be destroyed, though in the midst of the Lovedu the Shangana-Tonga phrase death as a terror situation, even pulling down the hut of the deceased and removing from his village. Suicide is an escape, intelligible enough when a man is insane or (in the old days) has been condemned to death as a witch; but otherwise it is attributed to witchcraft, not to frustration.

In the method by which the themes of both sex and authority are [8] handled there is the same aversion from excess or excessiveness. The Lovedu [8]

[87] are not sex-oddin; it is we who, by outlawing the impulses, which we
 [88] solely stimulate in our romantic ideals, our literature, music, and art in
 general, create for ourselves neuroses and psychoses, maladjustments
 and perversions. The Lovedu have no problems of sexual adjustment or
 incompatibility: their attitude is a matter-of-fact one. Sex is handled with
 moderation; men are warned against the dangers of excessive promiscuity,
 they learn from their proverb that 'A woman's pubes may break up the
 family', but passion is not esteemed and sex techniques are wholly
 undeveloped. In ritual, sex is symbolized to some extent, but only as
 an aspect of fertility, not as a sensual pleasure, while obscenity is
 inconspicuous and must sometimes be rationalized, as if it were question-
 able even under the auspices of the ritual. The fertility theme is itself
 pushed far back, so that it is unrecognizable in the symbolic background.

[89] The Lovedu are innocent of Lesbian practices. They are also revolted by
 what they believe the Shangana-Tonga in their midst tolerate—namely,
 the marriage of immature girls to old men, who they say sometimes
 manually enlarge the vagina of these girls; and they regard as disgusting
 that extreme measure of Shangana-Tonga women, who in impotent rage
 against a man may display their genitalia. Yet the Lovedu are not
 unsexed; modern conditions are making nubile girls breast-conscious,
 so that they are beginning to wear attenuated bodices; young men admit to
 being aroused by the sight of the inner, smooth surfaces of women's
 thighs; and significantly the common word for the female sexual organs is
endimani (place of the gods) or, among old women, *Akitapulu* (a charm
 or object made sacred by association with the gods), and for the penis,
tshele ya mator (staff of the village). In the one case of exhibitionism we
 [90] saw tried before the *Akwa*, the culprit, a man, was dealt with tolerantly
 as if he were an irresponsible madman; masturbation among children
 is looked upon as 'playing with' the sexual organs, and among boys it is
 indulged in less for its sexual satisfaction than to prove to their mates that
 they have reached maturity. The Lovedu do not suffer from guilt
 complexes because sex is not a temptation to be resisted by painful effort
 of will.

[91] Again, within the family there is little of that assertion of authority that
 among us leads to the development of an Oedipus complex. One finds
 neither stern paternal authority nor fierce resentments and compensatory
 day-dreaming among children. In the *Akwa* authority is distributed, in
 the work party dominance is resisted. There are no institutions that
 foster the development of strong personalities. Recognition is not given
 to supermen, and there are no great heroes in Lovedu history. The
 precocious child is a potential witch and the authoritative councillor is
 liable to be regarded as intoxicated. One day the great councillor of the
 queen conducted the proceedings of the *Akwa* in what appeared to us to be
 an expeditious manner, taking command of them, silencing irrelevancies,
 and crisply enunciating his decisions. We could not help remarking upon
 the masterful exhibition, the order and efficiency, but our remarks caused
 great surprise and we were told that only a drunken man could have been
 guilty of the ignominious display. Modesty, not arrogance, and dignity,
 not assertion, are great virtues.

In the Lovedu configuration of values, moderation is allied to toleration of differences. The Lovedu do not attach much importance to precision and punctuality, rigid procedures and meticulous fulfilment of promises. Time is not valued and the word for slowness or absence of hurry is the same as that for goodness or moral virtue (*swaya*); the only way to ask a man to go slowly is to ask him to go in a good manner (*ga swaya*). Time is not the first consideration, for most actions can, within certain limits, be performed to-morrow as well as to-day. 'The far-off well causes thirst', they say, implying that one should drink [beer] where one can and not rigidly pursue some distant goal; the saying is an appraisal of opportunism as against inflexible purposes. Interest very rarely centres in exact forms, word-perfect formulas, or the precise execution of a rite. Prayers and spells are extempore, communications with the ancestors are often disturbed by gossip and intrusions, and consultation of a doctor about questions of life and death may be interrupted by all manner of irrelevancies. In the *Mkoro* the procedure does not rely upon set forms; there is toleration even of the differences of customs and laws in the districts; and great deviations from the norm are possible if people agree. An actual performance of a rite differs widely from the ideal description given by an informant. The important thing is always the broad pattern, the underlying spirit, not the exact form, the letter of the law; and magical power is hardly ever derived from a precise unfolding of a rite or adherence to meticulous details. The most highly formalized aspect of the culture is the *dzimu* complex, where we seem to see the remnants of a highly ceremonious outlook upon life, which was characterized by secret societies, masked gods, and symbolic objects, and by esoteric mysteries enmeshed in fixed forms and calendric observances. The obscure symbolism of the drum cult is inscrutable, but its dramatic interest keeps it alive, even if the power of its mysteries and mummeries appears to challenge the prerogatives of the queen.

Toleration of variations is necessary among the Lovedu to effect the incorporation and willing co-operation of so many divergent elements, especially in view of the fact that the ruling group has neither the means nor the inclination to impose its will by force; it is also implied in the autonomy of the districts and necessitates the elaboration of the links which overcome the weaknesses of decentralization. Variability adds to the scope of individual expression, permitting of the realization of very different temperaments and avoiding the dangers of repression. This is so because individuality will have, within the limits of the pattern, great play, not only in specific situations, such as rites and ceremonies in which the forms are not rigid, the roles of persons not fixed, and the precedences and procedures not invariable, but also in whole societies in which wide expanses of culture are not externalized in conventions or ceremonial. This is true of specific Lovedu rites, ceremonies, and institutions, as well as of Lovedu culture as a whole. Another aspect of the idea that man has many potentialities and many ways of realizing them is expressed in the saying, 'Man is an elephant; he does not eat one [kind of] plant only'—that is, he should try many things.

The socially stressed Lovedu values and the social arrangements are,

181 of course, not congenial to every one, and frustrations occur; but the society provides for procedures whereby serious frustration is minimised. Thus the loss to one family of a murdered man is solaced by replacing him from the family of the murderer and building up permanent marriage and maxynalo links between the two families. Tolerance of variations harmonises with the insistence upon compromises, and in the setting of the culture it does not create serious problems of instability and insecurity. Security is provided by the integration and coherence of the dominant motivations and interests, the long-run reciprocities of the social system, and the unshakable confidence in the powers of the queen. At the same time the predictability necessary for stability is of a different order from that of our social arrangements; and it is measured very largely by the spirit and the willingness and attitude of people.

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626 Conformity is not secured by external sanctions of force and only to a remarkably small degree by the ancestors. Nor are people so delicately conditioned to the values of the society that they spontaneously react to conscience. The internal sanctions are only moderately developed and there is no undue sensitiveness to shame or guilt, ridicule or abuse. An offender is not cast out; and a witch, generally speaking, is not ostracised. Over-sensitiveness to rebuffs, even in delicate situations such as when a man begs the favour of joining a beer drink, is deprecated, for, as they say, 'To chase a guinea-fowl [the beggar] is to cause it to go where it can scratch for food', so that it is foolish to feel crestfallen when the remedy is to pass on and seek beer where you will be well received. Nor should a man be sensitively timid or unnecessarily diffident: 'He who feels cold need not be shown the fire'; one may ask for favours and should not feel injured if refused; and there is no disgrace in begging for whatever one needs. Indeed, just as 'An ant bearing a burden cannot crawl under dry wood' (that is, things that will conceal him), so a man who has of the good things of life cannot hope to escape sharing with others who may legitimately beg some of them. Europeans often interpret these traits as obtuseness, shameless beggary, insensitiveness to high ideals, and even insulance.

The Lovedu are sensitive mainly to the intangible forces of the social system, and these forces are set into motion against a man when he disregards the reciprocities upon which the system relies. Since there are few repressed fears the pressure of which on the mind can be removed by confession and atonement, the sense of guilt seldom moves men; offenders very rarely repent merely at the dictate of conscience. The sense of shame is more delicately internalised, but it drives men to make restitution only when the mischief has been exposed and brought into relation with the reciprocity system. The ego, in other words, is not highly vulnerable, for it is well-balanced, so that frustration of one purpose does not prostrate the individual, and there are many opportunities of escape from an antagonistic to a better disposed group or environment; as they phrase it, 'There is no madman but he has a friend'. Participation in the benefits of the culture depends upon not offending against the reciprocities; but the positive aspect, pride and self-realisation in mutuality, is far more important than the negative aspect, fear of being deprived of the reciprocities.

It need hardly be said that the reciprocities are not precisely calculated equivalences, nor a series of exactly balanced obligations. People do not consciously think of the long-run result of their behaviour, and they know that social duty done is not always sure of its reward. 'Hard as the axe chops, it cannot eat the honey it extracts', they say to warn those who expect that their efforts will inevitably be rewarded. 181
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The traits, motivations, and attitudes of the Lovedu become more and more intelligible in the context of the culture as a whole. Whether they are so delicately integrated that we can speak of the culture as an articulated whole, is not a question we shall try to answer. The tribal boundaries are certainly not the boundaries of the culture, which both in its forms and in its attitudes very gradually merges into the culture of a larger area, the limits of which cannot be exactly determined. In view of the increasingly great variations as one goes further and further from the nucleus, the degree of integration can be regarded relatively only to the area one chooses. Lack of integration is often more apparent than real. With regard both to recently introduced elements and to old elements which in their forms or purposes lag behind the changes of the whole culture, the process of integration is proceeding apace, but can never be complete. Thus the cult of possession is shedding those elements that are incongruous with the culture. There are also apparent inconsistencies in the divergent forms allowed in the districts and in principles of behaviour which are contradictory. Thus, for instance, revenge is permitted in the magic-witchcraft sphere, but is outlawed in the legal sphere. We may compare this contradiction to our approval of killing an enemy in war, which is conceived to be in the interests of national security, and our condemnation of killing a fellow man in peace, which is a crime against the security of life. Cultures often segregate contradictory aspects of social experience into logic-tight compartments, and there is no conflict as long as the contradictions can either be kept distinct or be reconciled. If they are embodied in the cultural system, no pressure is brought to compare them, and there is no lack of integration either in the mind of the individual or in the culture.

Men feel insecure chiefly in the face of disease and death, disension, drought, and the disruptive danger of European intervention. 181
28 The Lovedu attribute their fears to witchcraft, aggressiveness and quarrelsomeness, wrong burial, and the 'spoiling' of the country by the white man. We shall deal briefly only with two of these sources of insecurity: disease, which is one of the most constant preoccupations of the Lovedu mind, and the European, whose meddling has changed the shape and meaning of life and has upset the standards of right and wrong.

There is abundant reason for the perpetual anxiety about health, for disease is rife and even minor illnesses provide the occasion for the entry of the witch. Read against the background of their imperfect knowledge of anatomy and of the causation of disease, experience warns men that almost anything, from a simple scratch to the dreaded 'coughing disease', may cause death; in every case, not germs and poisons, but witches and sorcerers, may enter the body and take advantage of the weakness of the patient. Disease is considered, and susceptibility to disease is guarded against, as

181 every step in a man's life. The infant is saturated with medicine:
753 he is made to grow by means of medicine, he is nursed and strengthened,
and every upset of the stomach, every sign of disorder, every major
change in his life is treated as if it were a grave danger. The child is
often inoculated against the 'poisoned shaft', the 'last, fatal arrow' that a
malicious enemy might ' hurl' at him. Medicines by anticipation protect
those who after their initiation ceremony might be weakened (*ho khoma*)
when they resume contact with the world. Even adults in perfect health
periodically consult their doctors to discover whether, unknown to them,
some one is not planning an attack upon them.

To a European nothing is more amazing than the number of medicines
that are tried, rejected, and changed when a man is or supposes that he is
ill, unless indeed it is the contradiction that is implied in their pre-
occupation with their ailments as contrasted with their care-free attitude
to life. The Lovedu are always telling of their illnesses, yet they seem to
worry as little about them as the Englishman about the weather, although
he can hardly converse without complaining about it. It must, therefore,
not be imagined that life is weighed down by this interest in ailments;
the Lovedu are seldom really depressed. They do not feel at the mercy
of a capricious power, for their safety is ultimately in strong hands. They
can use medicine to combat witchcraft and, though death is inevitable,
their faith in the superiority of the good forces that they can invoke to
control evil remains unshaken; for death is only the occasional triumph of
evil, which time and again throughout life is defeated by the power
of medicine. The outlook which supports security presupposes an
ordered universe in which witchcraft is not merely outlawed, but can be
overcome by employing well-recognized techniques.

129 In the face of the danger of the European, the position is entirely
177 different. The white man is conceived to be part of a world which is
antagonistic and incomprehensible; its forces are both disruptive, striking
at the very significance of life, and capricious, not amenable to control by
any known magical techniques. The projection of the danger upon the
supernatural is but one aspect of a far wider conflict between European
and Native, conqueror and conquered, perpetuated by divergent outlooks
and different cultural configurations.

The conflict is an exceedingly complicated one. There is, firstly, the
threat to the security of the Lovedu tribe, a threat that strikes particularly
at the position of the queen and at the effectiveness of social mechanisms,
causing criminals to multiply, encouraging disrespect for parents and for
elders, and weakening the force of the reciprocation. Secondly, in the
wider context of Europeans and Natives attitudes have become
vitiated by the antipathies that develop between the group of fellow
men and the alien outside it. The loyalty and trust between those
within the group become transformed into hatred and suspicion
towards those outside it; in the one case the human capacity for self-
sacrifice, in the other case the capacity for selfishness, comes into play.
Where the whole value system of the one group clashes with that of the
other, antipathies are intensified. Moreover, the differences between
the groups coincide with pronounced biological distinctions, such as

is; and as the result there is a profound distrust which viciates relations. In 824
the situation of a European-owned mission station, both because of the 177
threat attributed to an iconoclastic creed and of the supposed capitalistic
exploitation, the services and sacrifices of a missionary are liable to be
rewarded with ingratitude and suspicion.

But however favourable the conditions, the difficulties must not be
underestimated. It is the sensitive ego that is easily controlled; if a man
cannot ordinarily be moved by an appeal to a sense of honour, conscience,
or cupidity, moral pressure cannot easily be brought to bear upon him.
Not only is the Lovedu ego not vulnerable, but the resort to kindness and
the appeal to high motives are liable to be construed as cunning and an
attempt to overreach. 'An ingratiating person', such as a European who
comes with pleasant words, the Lovedu say, 'lacks not ulterior motive; if
he lacks it, he is doomed' (for in any case he will be suspected). No
wonder that the European so often believes that firmness and coercion
are the only means of controlling the Native.

The different views held by the Lovedu and the European with regard to 177
certainty and precision lead to many conflicts. The lack of Lovedu
insistence upon these traits gives an appearance of irresponsibility and
disregard of obligations against the background of European society;
and the white man readily believes that Natives are innately like children
and always need supervision. As employers, masters, and administrators,
Europeans have, in the setting of a compulsive, calculating society, no
alternative but to stress punctuality and precise regulation; but they are
wrong in supposing that the essence of every society must be its regulative
aspect and that anarchy must follow if irregularities and disregard of
rigid procedures are allowed. The meticulous fulfilment of obligations,
upon which the Western commercial structure depends, is not necessary
in the timeless Lovedu culture, with its reliance upon long-run reci-
procity. The Lovedu would easily understand the parable in which the [11] •
people who worked for an hour in the vineyard in the cool of the evening
received as much reward as those who had toiled there all day long in the
hot sun, for they have little patience with the dull, mechanical systems
that measure merit, work, and time by a highly graduated yardstick. In
the hierarchy of Lovedu interests and necessities, time and punctual
fulfilment of promises are secondary; but this does not mean that in the
setting of the culture people are irresponsible and unreliable.

The beer-drinking of Natives is the bane of the European employ- 177
er; it is a real problem to the farmer. Even in the Reserve its social 273
function is gradually giving way to its pathological one. There are many
reasons for the change: the greater abundance of grain, the increasing
monotony of life, the sense of frustration, and the recognition in the
society that relief and excess may be displayed in states of exhilaration.
Farmers legitimately complain of the demoralizing effect of beer. Beer
can never be used in its full cultural context on the farms, and its prior claims
to time and interest can never be harmonized with the requirements of
labour service. The problem that is raised is apparently insoluble; for
total prohibition of beer leads to the surreptitious drinking of injurious,
rapidly acting concoctions, to a sense of grievance on the part

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that befall men, whether sickness, barrenness, lightning that strikes men, huts, or cattle, failure of an individual's crops, or death of his children, are caused by the hatred and envy in men's hearts. 777

There is no greater fear than the fear that gnaws at the heart of a Lovedu who suspects he has been bewitched. Yet he is not impotent before its onslaught. By ascribing destructive forces, disease, and other evil to witchcraft and sorcery, and at the same time believing in the power of magic (rupapa) to counteract witchcraft, a Lovedu is able to feel that he is master of his own fate. Evil in the world on this theory becomes intelligible, not arbitrary and capricious. This is an ordered and just world in which evil, being held to express itself largely in witchcraft and sorcery, is outlawed and criminal, and in which good ultimately triumphs. And if this projective system affords a convenient theory of failure, it also stresses the virtue of goodwill for human welfare. 754 781

Relationships of Man to Man

That the greatest source of all evil should be the envy and jealousies in men's hearts is in keeping with the emphasis everywhere in Lovedu social life on the importance of good relationships between man and man. Bad relations and non-fulfilment of obligations between kin may, as we have seen, cause not only bad luck, through ancestral displeasure, but even illness, through the automatic force of mahara. The dissatisfaction in a mother's heart, whether conscious or not, in connexion with her daughter's marriage may cause her sterility, just as the complaints of a sister may be the cause, as seen in the bones, of the illness of her brother's children. The queen's emotions, too, affect the rain and it becomes important, therefore, for the welfare of all that she should not be sad or displeased. 829 777 753 [821]

Dominating relations between individuals and between groups is the whole pattern of mutuality, co-operation, and long-run reciprocities in the social structure. 'One leg cannot dance a gushu' say the Lovedu; co-operation is essential for the tasks of life. Security is bound up with the mutualities of kin, cognatic, agnatic, and affinal. In a society where wealth cannot be accumulated, it is not surprising that men's efforts should be directed towards building up and maintaining through generations links of marriage and kinship with all that these imply. These reciprocities in the society are motivated by unavoidable necessity but they are long-run ones. There is no weighing up of one service against another, nor any attempt to seek prestige by lavishness. Moreover, it is sharing and helpfulness not the display of one's generosity that is wanted. 186

Side by side with the emphasis on give and take, the society provides in such a manner for the peace and achievement of individuals that competitiveness is limited and aggressive traits are outlawed. The immediate goals of individuals are divergent, and men are not conceived as striving against one another for the attainment of the same end. There is no special prestige

● [8] attached to possession and no socio-economic stratification of classes; for a great man, whether he be poor or rich, is first and foremost a royal relative, and the purpose of economic activities is self-sufficiency and independence. Trade is disliked and competition is absent even in craftsmanship. So marked is the disinclination to make comparisons that it is difficult to obtain any expression of opinion concerning the relative merits of things that Europeans quite naturally compare, such as the achievements of individuals or objects of craftsmanship.

Children are taught 'to be like others', not to strive to outdo them and precociousness is disliked. A child asking for sweets often says 'Give me also', even if no one else has been given any on that occasion. He begs for what others may receive, not a special advantage for himself. When favours are asked from the ancestors the prayer is quite often phrased, 'Give us also', or 'Let him have health like others'. To stress, before the ancestors, a desire for personal achievement in competition with or greater than that of others would be improper. Contrast with this the opportunities for and love of competition in Zulu society where every boy is constantly measuring himself against others, vying with them in fights, in dress, in love-making, in dancing, for leadership and praise.

The give and take, absence of competitiveness, and lack of force in the social and political structure, make moderation the keynote of Lovedu social life. Outstanding individuals are not tolerated: a show of forcefulness on the part of a councillor one day, which appealed to us as an indication of efficiency unusual in the society, was apologized for with the excuse that he must have been drunk. Display of all kinds is disliked. The elaborate bead-work and interest in dress, so characteristic of the Zulu, are absent, and there is nothing to correspond to the institutionalized public boasting (*shagiyu*)—jumping and stabbing at an imaginary foe to the accompaniment of a string of praises—that plays so important a role in Zulu life.

[76] Excess of every kind is deprecated. Speed is undignified. Things must be done *ga rya*, slowly, at a regular pace, in a moderate and dignified manner. Excess in human relations, like heat in the cosmic order, is liable to bring disaster. The reaction to death is calm, quiet grief, not the funeral wail of the Nguni or the terror reaction of the Tsonga. Too much weeping by a mother is believed to call down evil upon the next child born to her. Mputa was born a cripple, because, so we were told, his mother, Makwadu, wept bitterly at the death of her first son. Even in scolding moderation has to be observed, for scolding out of proportion to the offence, can, as we have shown, bring evil, even death.

[713] Quarrellousness is one of the worst offences. Congruent with this outlook, the murderer or the warrior who has killed an enemy must purify himself to avoid becoming quarrelsome, the threat of which is so unpleasant as to be a powerful sanction. But quarrels and conflicts do occur on account of temperamental qualities, conflicting interests, and other causes; they are also precipitated sometimes through imperfections in the social

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institutions or their inadequacy for meeting all situations. In the resolution of difficulties of this nature arbitration and compromise play an important role, both judicially and extra-judicially. The genius of the legal system even in its most formal aspects is the skillful use of the restitutive sanction, in its spiritual rather than its material sense. The fundamental objective is the re-establishment of relations that have become broken or strained, and that objective is achieved, not so much by vindicating rules as by reconciling the parties. There is indeed a tacit assumption that the social equilibrium will be maintained if personal relations are suitably adjusted. The primary task of the courts is therefore to smooth out personal difficulties rather than to settle legal issues. For in law as in life it is not the rule that is important but the personal and social relations. The cattle-linking of brother and sister from different 'houses', ordinarily disapproved, is an arrangement that agreement between the 'houses' makes possible, and if the parties agree, even murder can be compounded. Even when a diviner has found a man guilty of witchcraft, it is felt to be necessary that the culprit should 'agree' with the findings, i.e. accept the verdict of the bones. In judicial proceedings a defendant will be asked if he agrees to pay the award; if he disagrees, full latitude is allowed him to expostulate. Should the court sense a genuine grievance it will reopen the case and bring its decision more into line with an amicable adjustment. As laws and institutions exist for human beings, they are not ends in themselves, and even the most fundamental duties and obligations between individuals and groups are conditional upon the ever-invoked 'if they agree'. If people do not agree there can be no relationship. If they have to be coerced there cannot be genuine agreement. This is why the execution of a judgement is left to the parties. The whole social and political structure relies upon the maintenance of good relations without resort to compulsion. Hence the use of the mechanisms of marriage and bride-price to hold in willing allegiance a great diversity of alien groups, who outnumber the Lovedu proper by nine to one; hence also the aversion from regimentation and military discipline.

Great importance is attached to the dignity of the individual. Every person has rights and obligations; even a child's rights to property are respected. If a man feels that he is not being given his due, it is right to complain (*selele*) just as the ancestors do when they have not received proper attention. Any indignity to the personality, such as corporal punishment, is socially disapproved. Perhaps it is for this reason that a Lovedu soon becomes tractable if ordered by the court to carry stones or perform some other useless task when he has been guilty of 'despising' the court.

Suicide is not common, but when it is resorted to it is as a protest against wrongful accusations or as a result of the complete frustration of an individual forced against his will into an impossible situation, e.g. a girl forced to marry someone she dislikes.

A high value is placed on human life. An aspect of Western civilization that puzzles the Lovedu is that we tolerate the loss of human life involved

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- 184 in the use of motor traffic. Are not people more important than speed? The need for even a chief to respect the wishes of his subjects upon whom he depends for a following is summed up in the saying, *Ukholi gi outhe*, 'chieftainship is people'.

577 The qualities or virtues that are stressed, then, in the moral code of the Lovedu are moderation and temperance, compromise and agreement, humility, respect for the personality and rights of others. Courage is not rated very high in this non-military society. Perseverance is often enjoined and is especially necessary in the monotonous tasks of hoeing, carrying heavy loads of wood, walking up steep mountain slopes; but it is never carried out with the single-mindedness that a European might expect. Theft is condemned and there are ritual sanctions against it. If the object stolen has been magically treated, for example, a painful sore will develop on the finger which defies treatment until guilt has been confessed and restitution agreed to. 'Don't steal, always beg (*ukhola*) for what you want', children are exhorted. But theft is not a problem in this economically undifferentiated society, though nowadays cases of theft, even if extremely rarely, do come before the tribal courts. Drunkenness is bad only if it leads to neglect of duties or fights and quarrels. To be drunk is in itself no disgrace, it is merely pleasant and perhaps exhilarating, not a condition to be ashamed of. Indeed everyone looks forward to the sorgho season when all become slightly intoxicated from the cider made out of the fruits.

Right conduct is relative always to the human situation and morality is oriented not from any absolute standards of honesty or truth but from the social good in each situation. Conduct that promotes smooth relationships, that upholds the social structure, is good; conduct that runs counter to smooth social relationships is bad. Courtesy and the respect due to age or seniority are thus of greater importance than truth. A son-in-law who, tired of always being imposed upon by his wife's father, truthfully signified his unwillingness to help him by providing a guest would be guilty, in view of the special mutualities between families related by marriage, of unpardonable behaviour which might jeopardise his marriage. The correct procedure is to agree to help but to be always 'still looking for it' when approached for the guest. It took us a long time to discover that the right way to deal with incessant begging was not to refuse however politely, but to say 'I have none' or 'It is not mine to give'. The polite lie even if palpable is better calculated to maintain smooth relationships than strict adherence to truth. Truth is not good in itself nor is a lie always evil. Lies are objected to when they are socially inconvenient. Yet not only is it expected that a man will lie to get out of difficulties but there are cases in which lying is prescribed, as when children are told to lie to strangers if asked about village affairs. To keep tribal secrets and the secrets of initiation schools is of far greater importance than to tell the truth.

- 831 The social orientation of morality is clear in Lovedu sex morality. Sex is not regarded as a temptation to be resisted by painful efforts of will.

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one hand a means of binding the women of the lineage, even after their marriage, by strong links to their father's family and on the other of maintaining from generation to generation the bonds with the maternal kin created by the marriage of the parents.

A woman has a dual role in the social structure. On the one hand by establishing a 'house' in her husband's lineage, she is the means whereby his lineage is perpetuated and its numbers increased; for even after the death of her husband his brothers will raise seed to his name and in the absence of sons she can herself ensure the continuation of her husband's lineage by marrying a woman on behalf of a fictitious son. On the other hand a woman remains important to her own lineage: if she is the eldest child of her 'house' she will officiate at all important religious offerings (if her brother is older he may officiate but she will always be called to collaborate with him); when she dies her name and those of her sisters will be included among the names of ancestors called upon in prayer; she divides out the inheritance on the death of her uterine brother; she guards the interests of the children of her cattle-linked brother's 'house' whence she will obtain a daughter-in-law; upon her falls the responsibility in the absence of her parents of providing an heir in her mother's 'house' (of her father's lineage) should there be no son; and she may even act in the place of her deceased father as ruler over a district until the heir is of age or until one can be raised.

The maintenance of links with married sisters and its complement marriage with the mother's uterine brother's daughter by means of which one's links with one's wife's (or mother's) family are perpetuated, are supreme values in Loveda society. That is why a wife who has no son has little difficulty in persuading her husband to hand over her daughter's bride-price to her brother rather than create links with a strange family. It is possible thereby to 'build a house' (or 'make a gate') at her brother's home from which her daughter's son will obtain a wife. This may at first sight appear to be very like the transfer of rights from mother to daughter but this is not the case. It is made possible by the transfer of cattle belonging to the daughter's husband and is bound up with the great desire to maintain links between the descendants of brother and sister. The right